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THE RIGHT TO COLLEGE

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Robert L. Terrell

UP FROM UNCLE TOMISM

THE QUIET AND DOCILE NEGRO CAMPUS IS GONE FOREVER

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ARE PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS THE ANSWER?

WHERE'VE I HEARD THAT QUESTION BEFORE?

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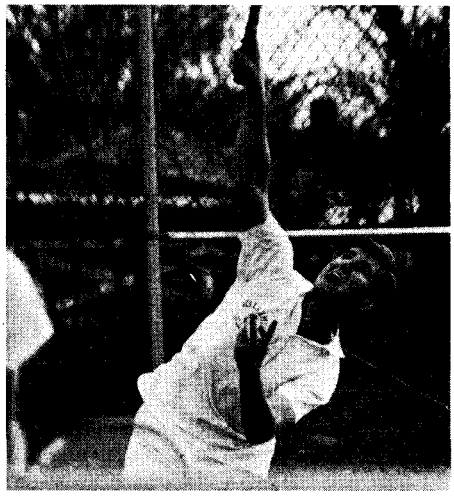

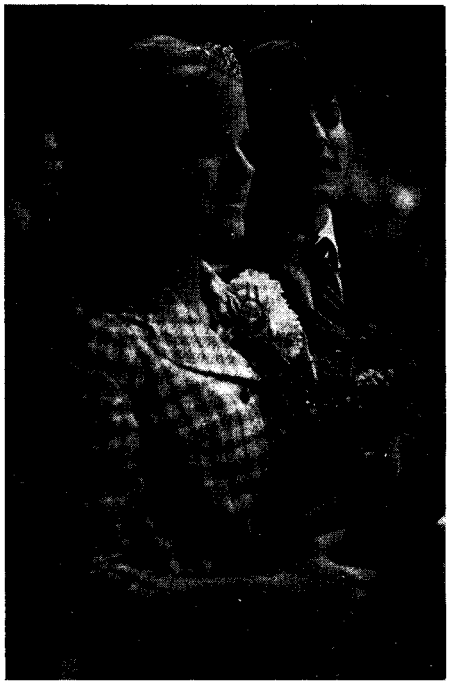

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It sounds incredible because it's taking place right now...in the midst of the good life so many of us are living in America. But walk down the back roads of most any Mississippi Delta town and you'll see tenant farmers, field hands, seasonal workers . . . and their children...with stomachs bloated, eyes dulled, feet swollen, arms and legs matchstick thin.

The irony is that they aren't starving at a rate dramatic enough to arouse the indignation of the nation and the world. Otherwise something would have already been done.

One of the programs that is aiding many of these families is the federally sponsored Food Stamp Plan. Under this plan a needy family can convert a 50¢ food stamp into as much as $12.00 worth of food. The problem is getting that 50¢, because many families have no income at all.

The NAACP Special Contribution Fund is conducting a nationwide drive to help thousands survive. If you can do with one less "dinner out" this month, the money can mean a month's supply of meat, milk, and bread for a family of five. Just $10.00 buys up to $240.00 in food stamps.

If you would like to contribute to this fund, please send your tax-deductible check, for as little or as much as you can, to the NAACP Mississippi Emergency Relief Fund.

Thank you.

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NEWS & VIEWS

Leveling on Laos

California's Alan Cranston accompanied the press release of his March 12 Senate speech urging the U.S. to "set a higher standard of honesty and truth" with a photostat of an article from last August's *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

It was a particularly fascinating enclosure.

The article, which attracted virtually no attention upon publication, cited the U.S. Embassy's own information kit to give the lie to the official fiction of U.S. non-intervention in Laos.

The hard evidence was an Army Attaché press backgrounder: "There is a U.S.-supported military assistance programme to Laos that is not highly publicized and is handled through the U.S. Economic Aid (USAID) Mission."

The revelation prompted Cranston to cry: "Stop copying the Communists."

But there was an even more devastating item of information in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* piece by John Gittings; namely, that the version of the 1962 Geneva Protocol printed and being circulated by the U.S. Embassy at Vientiane excised Article 4 from the Protocol.

Article 4 only happens to read: "The introduction of foreign regular and irregular troops, foreign para-military formations and foreign military personnel into Laos is prohibited."

Gittings inquired about the omission and was told it was a "typist's error." He remained skeptical. "With a staff of over 70 at the U.S. Military Attaché's office alone, not to mention the 'charter airline' Air America and other more exotic operations, it is a fair guess that Article 4 is not an article of faith in the U.S. Embassy compound," Gittings wrote.

Senator Cranston was more specific: "Our Embassy left out the article which, when read, would be plainly recognized as the article that we are violating."

Cranston's demand: " . . . that the United States clear the air, be straightforward, and acknowledge that we are violating the Geneva Accords in Laos, or that we consider them null and void."

Hospitals and Unions

As the unions quicken efforts to enroll hospital workers, some bishops of key U.S. dioceses are laying it on the line to officials of Catholic hospitals about workers' right to organize.

Last January in Pittsburgh, Bishop Vincent Leonard entered the tension between Mercy Hospital and Hospital Workers Local 1199P by affirming publicly the "basic moral right" of workers to found unions and bargain collectively.

And in Baltimore last month, Lawrence Cardinal Shehan bluntly reminded St. Joseph Hospital of its "moral obligation" to allow its workers to vote on unionization.

St. Joseph's has been resisting the organization attempts of the National Union of Hospital and Nursing Home Employees.

The position of heads of dioceses in conflicts between hospitals and unions is not always a simple one. For, whereas most bishops are *corporation-soles*, most Catholic hospitals are self-governing and autonomous. There's a detour, in other words, in the chain of command.

The situation provides an easy out for the equivocator. So the more credit to those who speak up, making plain to institutions professing church connections that the same moral obligations bind them as bind individual Catholics.

Which is to say, 'good show' to Pittsburgh and Baltimore.

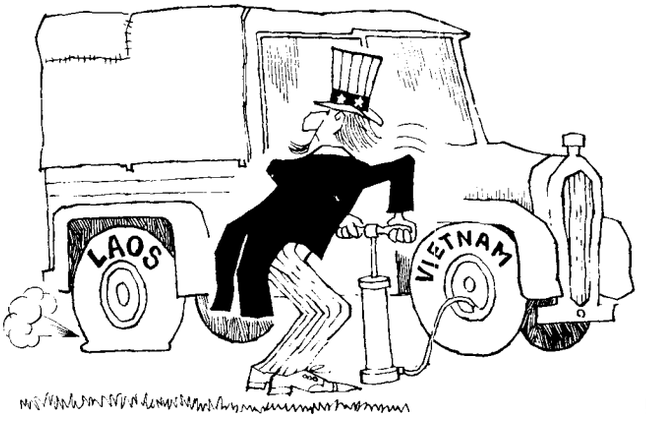
Vietnam as War Lab

The war which proved herbicides, the TALOS missile, CS tear gas, electronic sensors, and Lord knows what other exotic arms, is being graced with yet another weapon for testing.

The March *Army Digest* reports that FLASH (or, XM191 Multi-Shot Portable Flame Thrower) is being sent to Army and Marine units in Vietnam for "operational evaluation."

FLASH, a portable one-man weapon, has been designed as a replacement for the flamethrower which has been in use since WW II.

Featuring four fiber-glass launching tubes, FLASH holds a pre-loaded clip of four 66mm rocket shells. Each rocket contains 1.35 pounds of polyisobutylene-thickened triethylaluminum, a new incendiary chemical considered superior to napalm. It ignites on contact with the air.



Pierre—Aux Ecoutes, Paris Ben Roth Agency

Another flat tire!

The National Colors

Helping promote the April 13-15 Fast for Peace of the Vietnam Moratorium clergy committee is a new Corita Kent poster which plays on the national colors.

Against a photo of a Vietnamese woman mourning another victim of that senseless war is the legend in characteristic Corita calligraphy:

our country is red/spilled blood/ of the indians/ the british/ the blacks/ the whites/ the poor/ the shot

our country is white/ draining blood/ from the enemy/ the enemy /is a human being/ us

our country is blue/ hope/ that in its christian/tradition thou shalt not kill/ will win over/ the refinement of weapons

The poster is available for $2 from the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, Suite 806, 1029 Vermont Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., 20005.

Proceeds from its sale, as well as donations from the Fast itself, will go to Vietnamese church relief groups and American anti-poverty organizations.

Odds and Ends

—Holy Namers of the New York Police Department had a standing ovation for communion breakfast speaker, General William Westmoreland. And another for Msgr. Joseph McCaffrey, their chaplain . . . when he criticized "unwashed bums throwing bombs in the streets."

—Syntex, the corporation which controls 54 percent of the oral-contraceptive market, is feeling some side effects of its own because of the pill. Syntex, which once neared 100 points on the American Stock Exchange, recently closed at 34, down almost 60 percent from its 1969 high. Held responsible: the Senate hearings of Gaylord Nelson. JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Kathy's Girlhood

Philadelphia, Pa.

To the Editors: Kathy Mulherin: ["Memories Of A Latter-Day Catholic Girlhood," March 6], I figure you to be about my own age—three years my senior, perhaps; I am 25. I, too, spent eight years in Catholic elementary school, attended a private Roman Catholic Academy. With you I must say that I was "loyal" to the establishment; thereby, concomitantly happy. Eight years later I find myself immersed in a plight very similar to your own, with one vastly distinguishing characteristic: I am now, myself, a Roman Catholic Sister!

Kathy, you speak of heroes and heroin; of consecration and chaos; of liturgy and liberation; of Black Panthers and paranoid dreams. Would you believe, Kathy, that I, too, am "haunted by paranoid dreams." Every morning at 5:20, I awake to find "reality outstripping the dream." And I've touched as many "black panthers" as have you; maybe more . . . I'm sorry, Kathy, that I have never joined a "GE striker's picket line," never "taken part in a university sit-in," nor "occupied a building"; if you understand that to mean that I am isolated from my brothers and sisters, you build a barricade between us more impenetrable than one constructed of American dream cars.

I wage a different war. I walk an unlikely picket line. Think of me sometime, Kathy. Know that somewhere in this Roman Catholic church of this United States of America, there is a young nun who hopes for all that you hope for, and who will harass her hierarchy until one day, the church will emerge, purged and purified, as one of the greatest freedoms God ever created.

Believe in me, Kathy; let us pray and hope for each other.

Bob Kennedy believed, "that in this generation those with the courage to enter the moral conflict will find them-

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TASK FORCE REPORT

The report of President Nixon's task force on foreign aid is in, and our reactions to it are necessarily mixed. As the timid curate is supposed to have remarked about a dubious egg, "Some parts of it are very good." Yes indeed, but then there are the other parts.

The positive, first: the report strongly urges that much U.S. aid be channeled through multi-national institutions. It recommends, for instance, an increase of $500 million in the annual United States contribution to international financial institutions by 1972. Furthermore, the report also recommends that the United States adapt its national aid programs as far as possible to the principles established by international agencies. Such a shift from national to international emphasis would end the suspicion abroad that U.S. aid primarily serves our own national interest and would also reassure those in Congress who fear that foreign aid will lead to further entanglements as in Vietnam. Also highly constructive was the recommendation that development programs be completely separate from military and economic efforts intended for security purposes. "Both types of program are essential," said the report, "but each serves a different purpose. Confusing them in concept and connecting them in administration detracts from the effectiveness of both."

All this is very much to the good, although many of our military aid programs should themselves be subject to critical scrutiny. More questionable than these suggestions, however, is the sweeping reorganization of aid machinery that is proposed. If the members of the task force have their way, the beleaguered Agency for International Development would be scrapped, its overseas personnel recalled and its economic programs divided. One need not imagine that A.I.D. is without fault to suggest that experience shows the need of unified direction for any continued bilateral aid programs.

Important as such technical questions are, however, the more serious question facing foreign aid is the question of commitment, of enthusiasm, of arousing the nation to the need for expanded goals. Here the report sums up the reasoning behind foreign aid very well. "All peoples, rich and poor alike, have common interests in peace, in the eradication of poverty and disease, in a healthful environment and in higher living standards. It should be a cardinal aim of U.S. foreign policy to help build an equitable political

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and economic order in which the world's people, their governments and other institutions can effectively share resources and knowledge." The United States, it says, should not look for gratitude or favorable United Nations votes as a result of our participation in international development. We should not expect others to copy our political institutions or imitate our cultural patterns. Nor should we even assume that development will automatically or necessarily bring quick stability—indeed, quite the opposite may be the case. "What the United States should expect from participation in international development," says the task force, "is steady progress toward its long-term goals: the building of self-reliant and healthy societies in developing countries, an expanding world economy from which all will benefit, and improved prospects for world peace."

Despite this plea for U.S. participation in international development, however, the task force failed to hold up any specific goal for aid spending, urging an increase but refusing to suggest even that one percent of gross national product generally considered the decent minimum goal and towards which other industrialized nations are progressing. The U.S., on the other hand, is diminishing its effort: Mr. Nixon's request for foreign aid this year was the lowest since 1956, the appropriation voted by Congress was the lowest in the program's history, and both figures were substantially below one percent. No doubt Vietnam explains this state of affairs in part; equally important, however, is the loss of national conviction that the program is good and necessary. It is this conviction that must be recaptured, and for this it will be necessary to eliminate what the task force calls the widespread "apathy and misunderstanding that seem to surround the issues."

The facts behind foreign aid have often been spelled out, but perhaps they need reiteration. The underdeveloped nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America differ widely among themselves; they share an overpowering need for a giant step, if not into the 20th century at least into the 19th. In those nations more and more men are coming to realize that it is not divinely ordained for men to live and die in hunger, and as a consequence political stability in these areas is a thing of the past. All of these nations desperately need to expand their productive capacities, but how are they to do it when their populations are soaring and their per capita income is often less than $100 a year? It is here that outside aid is essential—true aid, not the kind of disguised military assistance or imperialistic trade program that has negated the effect of such efforts in the past. For a nation devoting something like seventy cents out of every tax dollar to the cost of wars, past, present and future, the failure to set and achieve a respectable goal in foreign aid is a national disgrace. And given the inevitable connection between hunger and international unrest, we are likely to suffer for our niggardliness as much as anyone.

Diary of a Dissenting Priest

On the weekend of February 7 Father Joseph Wenderoth, a 34-year-old inner-city priest of the Baltimore archdiocese, was about what he considered to be "his Father's business." Together with ten friends, ("The East Coast Conspiracy to Save Life"), including three other priests, two sisters and several draft resisters, he was involved in the destruction of files and records at twelve Philadelphia draft boards and at the General Electric (lobbying and foreign export) offices in Washington, D.C.

By his action he hoped to dramatize the connection between the war in Vietnam and the defense production and foreign investments of large corporations such as G.E. It was admittedly a unique form of the ministry, but one on which Father Wenderoth was staking his future in church and state.

Cardinal Lawrence Shehan, 72, the Archbishop of Baltimore, is himself no stranger to controversy over social issues. In June of 1966 he wrote a moderately toned pastoral letter on the war in Vietnam, which was severely criticized by some of his brother bishops and which he then explained in even more moderate tones. Later on when he testified on behalf of civil rights at public hearings in Baltimore, he received sneers and jeers from some of his faithful. Nevertheless, the Cardinal could have used the traditional papal "We are not pleased" to express his reaction to Wenderoth's activity.

The Baltimore priest had written Shehan to explain the reasons behind his action. He now asked the Cardinal to see him together with a group of other Baltimoreans involved in previous draft board actions, including Father Philip Linden, a black Josephite priest, who had acted with Wenderoth in Philadelphia. The Cardinal turned down this suggestion and insisted on seeing him alone.

This meeting took place on February 19th, and Wenderoth found his archbishop "upset at first" as he listened to the younger man's four conditions for negotiations. He asked to continue to function as a priest, as a celibate, to be active in the Resistance movement, and to work in his former parish of St. Vincent de Paul. Cardinal Shehan only replied that he "could not be allowed to continue in the archdiocese" if similar involvements continued and the two parted on a fairly cordial note.

Nine days later on the morning of Saturday, Feb. 28th., Wenderoth received a sudden 9 A.M. telephone call to report to the Chancery office at 10 A.M. for a meeting with Shehan. The Cardinal, who apparently had been consulting with his advisers, then laid down some conditions of his own. The first—perhaps the most un-

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usual—was that Wenderoth undergo psychological testing (with a psychologist often employed by the archdiocese) for a "vocational crisis."

Apparently the Cardinal considers radical social activity to be incompatible with his concept of a vocation to the priesthood. One is hard put, even in the year 1970 A.F. (after Freud), to imagine the young Jesus forced to submit to psychological testing after the disruption of the temple court, or having his vocation questioned for driving the 2000 pigs over the Genesareth cliff. Who knows whether Jaegerstaetter or even Jeremiah would have survived the hurdles of those little Rorschach ink blots?

The Cardinal's next condition was that Wenderoth appear before the archdiocesan personnel board concerning future work, since he had no further assignment at St. Vincent's, a parish located in Baltimore's large black ghetto. Nor, accordingly, should Father Wenderoth expect further financial support for any length of time. "Finally," said Cardinal Shehan, "I cannot allow you to use the forum of the church." He immediately added that he would have to take "further steps" if this prohibition were ignored.

Upon Wenderoth's return to St. Vincent's rectory, Wenderoth's pastor informed him that he could not celebrate the 9:30 public Mass that Sunday, which is regularly attended by white Catholics who have become disenchanted with their own parishes. Nevertheless, together with a number of friends he appeared at the Sunday service as a member of the congregation. During the Mass, Father Neil McLaughlin, another Baltimore priest, Asst. Director of the Diocesan Urban Commission until he joined the New York Eight (another draft board group), announced Wenderoth's plight from the pews and asked that he be allowed to speak.

The celebrant graciously agreed and the priest addressed the community after the Mass. His explanation, which was greeted with applause, was brief and to the point, since he had been invited to preach the homily at the dedication of St. Augustine's Lutheran Church, whose pastor and his bride he had also married a year ago. Ah blessed ecumenism.

A few days later Wenderoth and McLaughlin appeared before the personnel board. The Archdiocese of Baltimore prides itself on being progressive and enlightened. It has generally accepted the reforms of Vatican II such as the liturgical renewal, parish councils and personnel boards. Nevertheless, the two priests found several of the board members quite irate over the Wenderoth case (but not because of the issues). It seems that Shehan had never officially consulted the board, whose province is parish assignments and clerical salary scales. So much for collegiality and participatory democracy.

In the meantime a black delegation made up of a St. Vincent parishioner and two people from the local community had approached the Cardinal and had asked him to explain the situation in person at a Sunday Mass together with Wenderoth. Shehan's reply was negative but he promised a statement to which Wenderoth and his pastor could reply.

On the following Sunday the statement, which was more conciliatory in tone than the recent meeting between the Cardinal and priest, was read to the congregation after Mass. It stated that although Father Wenderoth was being withdrawn from St. Vincent's, he was under no penalty and was not "deprived of the faculties to offer Mass, preach or administer the sacraments." This seemed to ignore the Cardinal's previous denial of "the forum of the church" to the priest. Nor was the further assurance that Wenderoth had "received no salary cut" of much comfort in the light of the Cardinal's threat that his financial support was terminal.

The statement hastened to add that Shehan was well aware of the anti-war priest's "fine work in parish and community" and would have preferred him to remain on acceptable terms for the "welfare of the parish." The parish is in fact a typical decaying inner city one and so Wenderoth's activity concentrated on the needs of the wider black community. What of the future of the people involved in the Parent and Child Center, the Food Co-op (where project dwellers shop at near-wholesale prices), the Tenant Councils, the Legal Aid and welfare projects, all of which he had helped to create?

The Cardinal's own words pinpoint the dilemma of church and priest in the 20th century: "Father Wenderoth's strong convictions of conscience have led him to become involved in activities that *conflict* with his duties as assistant pastor." Does the church exist for itself or for the world? Is radical prophetic ministry on behalf of man "in conflict with one's duties"? Perhaps the future of the church is one and the same as the future of the Fathers Berrigan, Melville, Groppi and Wenderoth.

PAUL MAYER

(Paul Mayer is a married priest involved in an experimental ministry with the peace movement and with New York Theological Seminary.)

NEXT ISSUE

MICHAEL HARRINGTON writes on the environmental crisis:

"Whenever society determines that it is going to put a price tag on resources that were, up to yesterday, 'free,' there is an enormous potential for conflict . . . The 1967 strategy of vetoing effective legislation will no longer work; so the new emphasis is to be on making sure the public, rather than the guilty companies, will pay the bill for cleaning up the environment. General Motors has already announced that anti-pollution features in its cars will raise prices by $100."

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. . . Rain, Nor Snow Nor Lousy Wages

It is in the nature of the case that as I write this I cannot know the outcome of the postal workers' strike, and that as you read this you will know the full story. I have been told that several minutes ago President Nixon announced the sending of troops to New York, a move I disapprove but which, like the entire strike, is probably of much less worldshaking dimensions than the surrounding drama would suggest. I write in an office where activity has been largely brought to a halt because of the strike. Spring vacations are nice; but—potential Continuation Fund contributors take note!—*Commonweal* can ill afford impromptu ones. Still I find myself puzzled by the sputtering reaction of normally calm spokesmen.

The *New York Times*, for example. Daily, the *Times* has editorialized in its lead position on "Postal Anarchy," "The Mail Must Go Through," "Test for the Nation," and so on. The "outlaw strike" was the "most serious threat to orderly governmental process in the history of the Federal civil service." It puts the nation "at the mercy of every employee group" with a strategic position. Such "defiance" and "disregard for [the Federal employees'] oath" encourages "the lawlessness already so rampant." After two days of the strike (which was still limited to the region around New York and just beginning to spread to the Middle West) the *Times* endorsed the use of troops. It warned the mailmen not to "flout all law and thus declare war on the nation"; we could not allow them "to force the United States into submission." The actual mail tie-up was bad enough, trumpeted the *Times* after four days of strike; but the real necessity was "a demonstration, once and for all, that the government cannot and will not surrender to the exercise of outlaw force." The mailmen's repudiation of a back-to-work agreement was "outrageous." "The fabric of community has worn exceedingly thin under the hammer blows" of militant minorities. "Now President Nixon is left with no choice except to mobilize Army or National Guard units to deliver the mail . . . the future of a government based on law is in the balance."

All this inflated rhetoric would be more understandable were not the *Times* editorials, in between the Churchillian exhortations, marked by the plain, commonsensical recognition that the postal workers' demands were essentially justified. The postal workers had never struck before, in nearly two centuries. They are grossly underpaid. Their leaders have repeatedly warned the Administration of the possibility of a strike. The Administration has opted for making postmen, and other Federal employees (although not the President or Congress), pay the price of anti-inflation efforts by delaying desperately needed wage increases. What is more, the President has refused postal pay increases unless the postal unions back his proposed postal corporation.

The *Times* mentioned all these facts—to its credit. It did not mention that other nations undergo postal strikes; and while I heartily hope America does not add them as regular pleasures in its national diet of catastrophe, the experiences of others suggest that civilization and the Constitution are not so endangered by striking mailmen as the *Times* suggested.

Some months ago, again to the *Times*' credit, that paper publicized the case of several mailmen who chose to go on welfare rather than continue at their jobs—their wages being less than welfare benefits! Having blithely assumed that mailmen were moderately well paid, I was shocked to discover their actual salary scale; and I doubt if I was alone in my amazement. Yet I did, and wrote, nothing. The *Times* did not remind the nation of this wrong. The Administration sat on its hands, no, it did even worse: it held the welfare of postal employees' families as a hostage, to be ransomed by political support. Today, of course, everyone knows about the impossible wages of postal workers; today everyone is sympathetic toward their cause. Dare we admit the truth, that it was the strike which brought about these results; and that without it and, yes, without its inevitable emotional militancy, the postmen would be nowhere? The finger of blame ought to be pointing elsewhere.

"Whenever someone presents you with two alternatives, choose the third." The strike must end, or the rule of law is finished. There was, of course, a third, and simpler, solution, that the President admit, either publicly, privately, or merely symbolically, that he admits the justice of the postal workers' claims and will substantially meet their demands. The notion that the Administration and Congress cannot act "under pressure" is quaint pretentiousness. Under pressure is the only way the Administration and Congress ever act. They should have never backed themselves into a corner with this self-important slogan; but, from the first, made it clear that the justice of the strikers' complaints, not their power over the mails, necessitated swift action. Would this set a disastrous precedent? If any amount of foresight were exercised in meeting grievances and establishing arbitration procedures, no. And when a genuine, unjustified threat to the rule of law arises, then meet it. In the meantime, please spare us domestic domino theories.

PETER STEINFELS

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THE RIGHT TO COLLEGE

Can we afford to send to college all those who want to go?

MAURICE R. BERUBE

The Nixon Administration has ordered a major retreat in providing educational opportunities for the poor. In his State of the Union message, President Nixon carefully excluded education as part of the "range of opportunities for all Americans" to "fulfill the American dream." Instead, the President emphasized voting rights, employment and ownership as the triad of government priorities to end poverty. In the name of economy, the President pledged that his Administration would scuttle "pending programs" even though they may "benefit some of the people" because "their net effect would result in price increases for all the people."

One of these "pending programs" would attempt to guarantee a college education to all Americans. For some time now, the President, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Robert Finch, and Commissioner of Education, James Allen, have had such a program before them. This program, first commissioned by President Johnson in the last months of his Administration, recommends a system of universal higher education. According to the designers of this program, an unwilling President Nixon has been forced to consider a national universal higher education policy. And he has rejected this "pending program"—a legacy of Johnson's Great Society—as too costly.

In October of 1968, an amendment to the Higher Education Act of 1965, sponsored by Democrats, Senator Ralph Yarborough and Representative James Scheuer, established the groundwork for a national policy on free higher education. Known as the "508 study," it instructs that "on or before December 31, 1969, the President shall submit to Congress proposals relative to the feasibility of making available a post-secondary education to all Americans who qualify and seek it." In short, a universal higher education law.

Plainly embarrassed by this Democratic maneuver, the incoming Republican President went through the motions of fulfilling the mandate. After a long delay, Office of Education specialists and education consultants from research institutes argued out the semblance of a national higher education policy in a series of small white papers. The Democratic holdovers in the Office of Education, with some outside support, favored a spending program, at least as a long-range goal, whereas Nixon representatives in the Office took a more conservative approach.

Key issues were the role of the Federal government and aid directly to the pupil or to the institution. Following the lead of Clark Kerr's and Harry Rivlin's private studies, most of the papers opted for a spending program that would be institution-oriented with Federal cost-of-education supplements. Under the cost-of-education principle the Federal government would reimburse the college for the education of those students who are poor. Although Commissioner Allen favored such a spending program, the White House did not. As a result, the President technically failed to present the recommendation of the "508 study" by the required deadline. Those who worked on the study suspect that he will make some passing reference in a later education message to fulfill the intent of the law. But for all practical purposes the "508 study" lies buried deep on the Presidential desk.

Instead, President Nixon proposed an Educational Opportunity Act which constitutes a mild effort to placate demands that the poor be given a free college education. Mainly, the President has amended but one small current Federal program—that of Federal loans—so that only the poor can now qualify for student loans. By themselves, these student loans act more as a deterrent than an incentive for college; they are burdensome to repay and only the most ambitious seek them out. Nixon's proposal came on the heels of a recommendation to completely overhaul all current Federal programs, in response to the second report of the Carnegie Commission on Equality in Higher Education chaired by Clark Kerr. Although stopping short of a free, open admissions policy, the Kerr group advanced Federal reforms that would enable all high school students, who so wished, to be in college by 1970; and all students, including those with severe learning disabilities, to be in some college by the end of the century. The disparity between Nixon's tepid proposal and the Carnegie plan indicates the severe educational lag of the government.

The national attitude towards education as an antidote to poverty was not so previously jaundiced. Both the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations embodied education as a major theme of their poverty programs: nearly every domestic reform program included some educational training. And President Johnson and Vice President Humphrey displayed a reverence for education that only a former schoolteacher and a former college pro-

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fessor could possess, by sponsoring more educational legislation than had been enacted in the previous 190-odd years of the Republic.

Moreover, President Johnson had let it be known through his Special Assistant for Education, Douglas Cater, that he privately favored 14 years of free schooling—beyond High School into Junior College. In addition to these public rumblings Johnson made some significant private soundings on the cost of such a venture. In late 1966, a series of highly confidential studies on universal higher education were completed for the President. Since Johnson considered assuming the tuition costs of every student, his consultants priced direct Federal financing of two college years for all students at some $400 million dollars—an amount far from exorbitant. Currently higher education expenditures total $18-$19 billion of a national education bill of some $58.5 billion. When one considers that our Gross National Product of $932 billion will, in the next decade, by President Nixon's own estimates, increase some 50 percent, such a system of free higher education does not appear too expensive.

What prevented Johnson from passing a universal higher education law, of course, was his escalation of the Vietnam war, which consumed most of the Federal budget. Even with an end to the war, however, it is extremely unlikely Nixon would divert monies toward expanded higher education opportunities. What funds have already been earmarked will go towards a clean waters program and welfare reform. Clearly, President Nixon is concerned with "managing" the existent Federal investment rather than incurring fresh obligations.

Johnson, however, broke no new ground. Traditionalist that he was—his great desire to emulate Roosevelt led him only so far as to propose a Great Society that would make good the unfinished business of the New and Fair Deals—Johnson followed in his Democratic predecessor's footsteps. What Johnson advocated echoed the seminal report of President Truman's 1947 Commission on Higher Education. The report concluded that the nation must "make education through the fourteenth grade available in the same way that high school education is now available." The Commission, composed of representatives of the education establishment, interpreted the "critical need" of higher education for all "in the light of the social role" of colleges and universities. And it was "obvious" to the members of Truman's Commission "that free and universal access to education, in terms of the interest, ability and need of the student, must be a major goal in American education." Twenty years later Johnson would merely reinforce the same concept.

But, most important, the Commission clearly enunciated a *right* to college. Education, the report intoned, was not only the "biggest and the most hopeful of the Nation's enterprises," it was the "foundation of democratic liberties." Moreover, education was a "birthright." This, the Commission report reassured, was nothing less than part and parcel of the "democratic creed" that "assumes (education) to be their (Americans') birthright: an equal chance with all others to make the most of their native abilities."

What prompted the Commission report was the experience of the GI Bill of Rights—the nearest equivalent to universal higher education. The GI Bill gave rise to mass education and to the more potent questions such opportunities raised. The Truman Commission grappled with the problems of deciding who should go to college. Their answer was framed in the egalitarian American tradition: everyone. They offered a series of recommendations that optimistically would result in having all students, who so wished, in some college by 1960. One generation and four Presidents later we are still considering that proposition.

Two developments have since changed the character of the debate over who should go to college. The emergence of a post-industrial state after World War II with a service economy that generates nearly two-thirds of its jobs in white collar fields has made college education a *sine qua non* for economic advancement. The result is that a majority of our college-age population attends some form of higher institution; the typical American possesses approximately 13 years of schooling. Consequently, some college becomes increasingly necessary as a credential for employment.

And the nature of the college and university has quietly shifted from private to public. As the costs of college education increase, these institutions have more and more relied on Federal beneficence. Federal monies account for over a fourth of all higher education expenses. And for our leading "private" universities, such as Princeton and Columbia, Federal outlays account for as much as 50 to 80 percent of the costs of operating these universities. It is difficult, under these circumstances, to conceive of Princeton, for example, as a "private" university. And as Federal support increases, according to all expectations, the distinction between private and public universities will be further blurred.

The Federal government, therefore, is under a moral and social imperative to provide equality of educational opportunity to all—not only to assist the education of the affluent youngster at Princeton, who can pay, but the black student from a Chicago ghetto who cannot. Thus, the need for a college background in today's market and the changing character of most of our system of higher education into a "public" rather than a "private" system, reinforces the egalitarian concept of college as a "birthright."

But, can we afford to send to college all those who want to go? Certainly not without strong Federal support. If one can base policy on the Gallup Poll's report that 97 percent of all parents want their children in college,

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and that these children go on to college, the costs would more than double—from the current $18 billion to educate 6 million students to well over $40 billion to educate upwards of 9 million students. And the amount would increase as more students went to college. Even under a modified system of universal higher education as recommended in the "508 study" the costs would be substantial. Nevertheless, the Federal government has the means to pay *all* higher education costs. The Administration need only use, for example, the $54 billion Seymour Melman has convincingly argued could be easily trimmed from the current military budget (*Commonweal*, Nov. 28, 1969).

Initially, an open admissions policy would not be too great a burden. The open admissions plan for next year at the City University of New York's nine senior and seven community colleges would add some 9,000 students to the already 180,000-member student body—not too dramatic an increase. But, only 10 percent of the students in the senior colleges and 26 percent in the junior colleges are black and Puerto Rican in a city where well over half the public school population is black and Puerto Rican. In time, open admissions will mean more money. Still, California has managed to offer college to all who desire it in the state since 1960—the first open admissions plan in the nation—without undue financial strain.

Enlightened educators have argued for a progressive increase in Federal aid as the only solution to the problems of higher education. They have hoped that Washington would double its current investment by the mid-70s—to account for one-half the total cost of higher education—and that by the end of the century, the Federal government would be paying all of the bills. "If this nation's needs for higher education are to be met in the years to come, the Federal government will have to accept the principal part of the consequent financial burden," Carnegie Foundation head Alan Pifer has stated. "And, judging from the statements of those representing higher education, this is what they think and want, as contrasted with an earlier period when there was considerable doubt."

However these educators may welcome Federal aid, they are not so enthusiastic over a national open admissions plan. "We may see the decline of our great colleges and universities," fears Martin Meyerson, President of the State University of New York, "as admissions become broader under a variety of pressures." The cause for alarm over the lowering of academic standards, however, has little justification. The consequences of the GI Bill were not a devaluation of the academy. It is not only difficult to imagine that universal higher education will mean the death of the university but the evidence does not support such a calamitous view.

Many educators equate education standards, more often than not, with selective admissions. Only since World War II and the rise of mass education, have colleges strengthened their admissions requirements. Since then, college administrators of both public and private universities have felt, correctly, that they were in a seller's market. Consequently, they introduced the theory of selective admissions: out of the mass of applicants one could pick and choose an academic elite. College administrators then made it increasingly difficult for a high school student to get into college. For example, in order for a poor youngster, last year, from New York City to qualify for admission to City College he had to obtain an 85 percent scholastic average in his high school combined with a high test score from a specially designed Scholastic Aptitude Test. In 1924 that high school average requirement was only 72 percent; in 1936, 78 percent. It is the poor, particularly the black and Puerto Rican poor, who suffer most from selective admissions. Whereas an institution such as City University, like other public universities, served well the depression immigrant poor—through a modest admissions policy—it has (until recently) held back the black and Puerto Rican poor through a more stringent admissions policy.

The assumptions of selective admissions are deceptively simple. Once one considers the inability to educate all who apply—on the grounds that the educational plant is lacking—then the job is to choose those applicants most likely to succeed in college. So admissions policies are generally predicated on high school performance plus additional aptitude tests that would serve to verify that performance. This circular reasoning served admission people well: One expects students admitted to succeed in college, these expectations influence that success, and that success confirms one's expectations.

However, the doctrine of selective admissions has been far from infallible. Recent national studies on student achievement show a student's college performance to be an extension of his high school performance; so that one can expect any high school graduate to survive college. Significantly, a fourth of the students sampled did less well than expected and ten percent did better.

Another important study of "high risk" students, by Professor Robert Williams, of all the current programs for students who are poor, showed that these students were as likely to make it in college as their more affluent counterparts. Williams estimated that at least half of the nation's colleges and universities operated some form of program for children of the poor. (None, however, made strenuous effort to recruit students with severe learning problems.) And the ingredients for academic success of these students in these programs transcended traditional admission requirements. Among the criteria, Professor Williams suggested, were such elusive qualities of student learning-potential as "minimal perception of self-worth," emotional toughness, intense motivation to improve one's life and success in some activity other than scholastic which requires some sustained effort. And spe-

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cial remedial programs, such as the SEEK tutorial program operating in New York, would help those students from the ghetto with serious academic deficiencies. In short, there is every reason to believe that a national open admissions policy would not lower educational standards, would not mean a revolving door experience for the poor and would not destroy the university.

What is most pernicious about the selective admissions myth is that it pervades even our policy of more liberal universal higher education. Good students are steered into the four-year academic colleges and poor students into the more vocationally-oriented community colleges. The proliferation of community colleges, at the expense of the regular academic college, has managed, in effect, to create a tracked system of higher education. And this track system further impoverishes the disadvantaged. Studies of the California system show that less money is spent on the education of the poorer community college student than the more affluent senior college student. Moreover, the desire for social mobility of the poor is more hindered than helped by the community college. They are more likely programmed into para-professional and white collar jobs that have little chance of advancement. All in the name of selective admissions.

A key demand of the black students in last year's CUNY protest was for admission of all black high school students into the senior colleges. Thus, the tracked system would be avoided. It is this particular request that has made educators and politicians anxious over open admissions.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to comprehend the rationale for continuing selective admissions through a track system. Prospective college students should be free to attend the college of their choice, regardless of their academic records. Historically, college was the preserve of a leisure class, without particular academic merit. College faculties would educate the sons and daughters of the rich into good citizens without concern over their academic potential. The poor, alas, were something else. In order to qualify for a college education they had to show merit. Thus, in the 19th century, American college presidents devised the scholarship scheme—for bright poor youngsters—as a means of entering the privileged academic groves. But the not-so-bright poor were never to be so fortunate as to join this Calvinistic elect. These attitudes persevere today.

Yet there is no reason why poor not-so-bright students should not be entitled to an academic college education. (New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller has often admitted he was a mediocre student and that he graduated from Dartmouth only because his name was Rockefeller.) The meritocratic conception of education only superficially appears egalitarian. In reality it resembles most the harsh Calvinism of our Puritan forebears, which sanctified the *status quo*: the gifted and well-to-do who succeed possess an inner grace, whereas the less gifted and less affluent who fail were so destined. By not helping the least able, meritocracy merely sanctions the results of a race that was fixed to begin with.

That the poor—including the least intellectually gifted—should have the option to exercise their right to college should not be construed as but a more subtle appeal to meritocracy. What David Bazelon extols as a "new class," based on education rather than property, has dubious value. As Professor S. M. Miller and Ivar Berg clearly point out, this "new class"—a "credentials society"—is but a programmed distortion whereby hiring is based on academic credentials which, in turn, militate against job performance. Berg's studies show, for example, that many over-educated employees are less efficient, less productive and less personally fulfilled than those employees who have little comparable academic background but come up through the ranks. The classic example Berg cites of overqualification is of the editorial secretary with a college degree, who rarely is advanced to the editorial position she wanted in the first place.

This criticism of the credentials society raises some profound questions. For one thing, formal education does not present a necessarily elevated processing for many. It is doubtful whether either many talented people—or not so talented—could flourish under academic auspices, no matter what educational reform could be accomplished. The counter-culture, the current phrase replacing the old "avant garde," certainly does not thrive in average formal settings; one is hard-pressed to conjure up images of Allen Ginsberg with a Ph.D. in English Literature. This example can be multiplied in other areas.

Equally important, the economy is still sufficiently fluid to avoid the rigid stratification of meritocracy. The only job category—professional technocrats—requiring specialized academic preparation remains at a rather stable ten percent or so of the work force. Still, the relation between education and income is great, so that one cannot disregard the economic value of college. And last year nearly 60 percent of college students were the first in their families to go to college, attesting to their regard for the social mobility implicit in a degree. Up to now, college has been, in the main, an alternative the poor—except for the brightest among them—could not pursue.

The arguments for a national policy of free higher education for all are overwhelming. Moreover, the nation has sufficient resources and growth prospects to pay for such a policy. But, the Federal government must take the lead in making the rhetoric of equality a reality. So far, a policy that was contemplated a generation ago has faltered. And President Nixon has signaled another step backward in his preoccupation with "developing better ways of managing what we have." For all those Americans who do not have—and who will need a college education to have—the President's words do not offer hope.

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Q. ARE PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS THE ANSWER? *A.* WELL, ER, UHH . . . .

GERALD GRANT

There's a cautiously optimistic feeling among some Catholic educators today that relief may be only months away. Public opinion, long hostile toward tax aid for parochial schools, has undergone a marked shift. No doubt this change in attitudes has been partially stimulated by the public's belief that the much-threatened Catholic school crisis has really arrived.

The *New York Times* frontpaged Msgr. James C. Donohue's warning last spring that Catholic school enrollment will decline by nearly two million pupils unless sizable public subsidies materialize. Donohue, director of education of the U.S. Catholic Conference, said that the gradual decline in enrollment since 1964 may foreshadow a severe retrenchment in the years ahead, putting additional strains on the sorely tested public school system.

And last fall, school-closings began to multiply. In Boston, it seemed that hardly a week passed without an announcement that another school would fold, each attended by considerable newspaper publicity. Parents and some faculty at St. Peter's High in Gloucester, built only five years ago, were irate when it was revealed that Cardinal Cushing privately negotiated its sale to the local public school system. Altogether, the shutdown of a dozen Boston schools has been announced since the fall term began. And the story is not much different in Chicago, Detroit and a number of other dioceses.

The Massachusetts state commissioner of education, Neil V. Sullivan, urged in October that local communities consider buying or leasing Catholic schools or hiring their lay and religious teachers for public schools. In January, a Louis Harris poll commissioned by Cardinal Cushing was leaked to the Boston newspapers. It showed 60 percent of all voters favor some form of aid for parochial schools. The survey pointedly noted that nearly half the non-Catholics opposed such aid at first but only a third remain opposed when told that tax rates might rise if Catholic children were forced to attend public schools. Subsequently, several bills to aid Catholic schools were introduced in the state legislature, and on Feb. 15 Cardinal Cushing said public assistance was the only hope for survival of parochial education in Boston.

Connecticut, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania have enacted legislation providing aid for Catholic schools, and laws are pending in 22 other states. Many follow the Pennsylvania pattern, which enables the state to "finance the purchase of secular educational services from nonpublic schools." The law survived a test in the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit; the Supreme Court has not yet ruled on its validity.

Yet in all this discussion of the financing of Catholic schools, the question of what purpose they should serve, or why they should continue to exist, has been curiously muted. Major studies of the future of Catholic education have been completed in several dioceses—most notably in New York and Boston. But they have not been fully shared with the public.

The message that has been generated for public consumption is that the Catholic schools need money, which is true enough. But what is not true is the frequently made assumption that the basic questions about the future of Catholic schools have been settled and what remains undecided is how much of the system can be financed in the future.

Even if Catholic schools received a billion dollars in public funds next year—and nothing like that figure seems even remotely possible in the near future—the question of priorities, of how it would be spent, ought to be the first consideration. Yet there is little evidence that Catholic schools are any closer to setting priorities now than they were a decade ago.

There are those like Mary Perkins Ryan who campaigned for diversion of school resources into other apostolates and religious education programs for adults as well as children. In all the debate churned up in the mid-60s by her book, *Are Parochial Schools the Answer?,* a few of us actually had the feeling that something was going to be decided.

Msgr. Donohue and others argued that the needs of schools in the inner city should have first priority. He emphasized the need for Catholic schools to be uniquely Christian in their teaching and example, and said this should be evident in the kind of social consciousness developed among students. His call for ecumenical, interracial commissions to combat racial imbalance and develop a new plan for the schools in each diocese received a pathetically weak response.

One outgrowth of the blue-ribbon conference sponsored by the National Catholic Education Association

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two years ago was the demand that Catholic schools exercise their freedom to shape lively experimental schools, to try new forms and methods and to act as a stimulus to public schools. Its report, too, is now forgotten.

One is hard put to find many dioceses where these issues have been faced and decisions have been made. In some cases, paper committees have been formed to discuss allocations of educational resources to competing groups within the church. But little has been done to alter the existing patterns of financing. This observation is also depressingly true of the differences between schools in rich and poor parishes. While some transfer-mechanisms have been established, poor parishes bear an unfair share of the financial burden. Often poor parents are the first to pay tuition, and they pay more. A study ordered by the Rhode Island Legislature showed that in 1968 the average elementary school tuition in low-income parishes was $42, for middle-income parishes, $12.

How Much Difference?

A number of studies have shown that on the average, Catholic schools are not very different from the public school down the street. They are similar in curriculum, in the way the schools operate and on most measures of pupils' attitude and academic success. Yet a significant minority of Catholic schools are strikingly different. They are innovating in unique ways, drawing on the special trust they have established. But if my experience as part of a study of New York Catholic schools is typical, nuns, priests and lay teachers who are associated with these centers of innovation see their efforts as being tolerated rather than encouraged, although some are receiving diocesan subsidies. St. Brigid's on the Lower East Side and St. Thomas in Harlem are two of the most thoroughgoing and successful community school experiments that I have seen anywhere. And there are a number of other bright spots, such as the parish school in a blighted section of the Bronx. Youngsters there had entered a first grade class of 48 pupils with below-average potential but finished the year significantly above grade level as a result of an ingeniously simple experiment in which the best students taught their less able classmates how to read.

The Bronx nun who devised the method has stayed to do battle in a school that is seriously underequipped compared with parish schools I visited in Scarsdale. I talked to others who reminded me of Midge Turk, formerly Sister Agnes Marie, who decided to leave. Miss Turk recently told the *New York Times* that she could not pay lay teachers a decent wage in the Los Angeles ghetto school where she had been principal. Her request for new books was ignored by diocesan authorities, who planted new trees in the school yards. "I had absolutely no support from the church structure. . . . It was too much for me. I became ill with the frustrations."

Those who had hoped to see a growth of social consciousness in the schools are pessimistic. The recent *Commonweal* report on the Jesuit high school (Jan. 30) offers little encouragement; nor does the right-wing attack on new religion programs. There are examples of schools that have developed new curricula and taken some bold steps in this direction. But their impact could be much wider, given different priorities.

Some thoughtful laymen, such as Francis Broderick, chancellor of the University of Massachusetts in Boston and a member of the U.S. Bishops' advisory committee on education, sees no justification for continuation of the parochial schools. He argues that the Catholic schools have outlived their historic purpose. Broderick fears that accepting public funds will simply postpone the inevitable facing up to fundamental priorities.

The Boston Archdiocesan Commission on Human Rights, a group of liberal Catholic laymen, believes that new state aid can be tied to new priorities. The Commission proposed a sliding percentage formula that aids most those schools that serve the poor or relieve racial imbalance.

An obvious criticism of their argument—and mine—is that the liberal Catholic priorities are not the priorities of a majority of parents whose children are enrolled in Catholic schools. That may be so. Available evidence indicates that most parents put a high premium on the moral atmosphere and firm discipline in Catholic schools. In the Rhode Island survey, more than 80 percent of all parents singled out standards of discipline as one of the most important reasons for supporting Catholic schools. Yet nearly half favored—or at least were not opposed—to closing some schools in favor of religious programs in homes and special institutes. There were similar findings in the Harris poll in the Boston Archdiocese. Thus, a significant margin favoring some change does exist. And new priorities can be articulated without trampling on the rightful demands of parents who have supported the schools. Establishing new goals is really a function of leadership, not opinion polls.

Where will such leadership emerge? One senses that the much-talked about school boards have been largely ineffectual in basically altering priorities. School boards proliferate; policy initiatives seem as inscrutable as ever. The boards really do not have much authority, particularly in a system without central budgets and in which power is highly decentralized at the parish level in many important ways, and shared among semi-autonomous groups in others.

A courageous bishop could still do wonders, and some have. Pittsburgh always comes to mind as a diocese where the Catholic schools have been a lively educational force. So has Chicago in some instances.

But perhaps the most promising avenue of change has just begun to emerge: that of nuns and organizations of lay teachers, particularly the nuns. Coherent policy-making structures are beginning to be formed among the re-

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ligious orders. The nuns have begun to sense their power and to exercise it. We have seen a few examples, as when 23 orders who teach in Louisiana's Catholic schools warned the bishops that they will not teach in other than fully-integrated schools, after which Archbishop Philip M. Hannan of New Orleans hastened to say that he helped "encourage" the nuns to adopt the policy. The day is approaching, though, when the nuns are going to make it quite clear that they don't need very much "help," and I don't think that day can come too soon.

UP FROM UNCLE TOMISM

Protest on the Negro campuses

ROBERT L. TERRELL

During the last four years almost ten people have been killed in connection with political protests and demonstrations on Negro college campuses. No one has recorded the number of persons who have been brutalized and seriously injured during the same period. Almost all the killings, and the vicious beatings which have accompanied them, were inflicted by hate-crazed "law enforcement officials" in their attempts to suppress the radical student activists on Negro college campuses.

The 1968-69 school year saw many Negro college campuses subjected to virtual sieges by local, state and, in some cases, Federal law enforcement officials. On many campuses—private ones included—students were subjected to arbitrary searches by local cops; surveillance by undercover agents posing as students; and betrayals by paid student informers.

The most serious encounter between Negro college students and law enforcement officials took place in Orangeburg, South Carolina, on Feb. 8, 1968, when a group of highway patrolmen killed three unarmed students on the South Carolina State College campus. The highway patrolmen, who fired their shotguns into an unsuspecting crowd of 200 students, wounded an additional 20 students. Negro college students refer to the tragedy as "The Orangeburg Massacre."

Although the past school year was not marred by more Orangeburg-type massacres, it was filled by almost continuous strife and conflict. The most serious incident took place in Greensboro, North Carolina, where Willie Grimes, a student at North Carolina's A&T College, was found dead with a bullet in his brain. No one knows who killed Willie Grimes. The students say that he was killed by the local cops. But the cops say that they had nothing to do with Grimes' death. What is known, however, is the fact that the killing took place during the height of a tense confrontation between militant A&T students and the local cops.

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Negro college students have not remained nonviolent in the face of these attacks. At least one white person has been beaten to death by irate students and several others have been wounded by bullets and missiles such as bricks and bottles. On several campuses, the students have resorted to guerrilla-like arson attacks. The most notable example of the lengths to which the students are willing to go took place at Lane College in Jackson, Tennessee.

Early last Spring during a militant student campaign against the Lane administration and Jackson's white power structure a group of arsonists destroyed a $500,000 building. The arsonists, who also set the torch to six other buildings on the Lane campus during the course of the campaign, used a highly flammable mixture of soap powder and gasoline to destroy the building. All these events mark a radical departure from pre-black power days when most Negro college campuses were patrolled by one or two aging night watchmen whose primary duties were to keep an "eye out" for late-night fires, check door locks, and discourage would-be burglars. Although the forgetful old night watchmen were sometimes armed, the students knew that they were forbidden to use their guns. Because they could be counted on to forget the names of those inebriated students who had to be helped to their dormitory rooms in the wee hours or to look the other way while interrupted student lovers hastily tidied themselves, the kindly old night watchmen were liked and respected by students.

Most of these genial old night watchmen are being phased out. They are being replaced by younger men who are called "security guards." The duties of the security guards, who are usually armed with shiny new pistols, nightsticks and walkie talkies, are markedly different from those of their predecessors. Although they also watch for fires and check door locks, the primary function of the security guards is to contain politically motivated student unrest. The result is that on many Negro college campuses the relationship between the students and their security guards is virtually identical

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to the hostile truce which exists between the black captives in the urban ghettos of the North and the "pigs" on the local police force.

There were a number of angry confrontations and some pitched battles between students and security guards on Negro college campuses last year, and there were signs that things would probably get worse before they got better. On at least one campus, a sizable number of students vowed before leaving for summer vacation that they intended to bring arms with them when they returned to school in the fall. The worst fears have not materialized, but the recent events at Voorhees College in Denmark, South Carolina, clue one that strong feelings exist below the surface calm.

There are many factors responsible for the hostile atmosphere which prevails on most Negro college campuses. Most of these factors are related to the militant political activism of the students. Although the militants are in a distinct minority on virtually every campus, their influence is so pervasive that they are the ones who define the political character of their generation.

The militants, who are strongly influenced by the theories of Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and Franz Fanon, are committed to radical, black politics and "liberation by any means necessary." They also understand that if present trends continue, many of them will probably be killed. Their recognition of these hard realities has not dampened their courage or commitment. Their tactics, goals and over-all strategy are best understood by those who are familiar with the genesis of their movement.

Before 1960 when the sit-ins began, Negro college students enjoyed (within the context of the South's repressive social order) a number of privileges. With the exception of a few state schools located in extremely reactionary states like Mississippi and Alabama, Negro college campuses were closed to outside law-enforcement officers. If the local police wanted to question or to arrest a student, they were required to get permission from the president of the college or one of his assistants. If a student got into trouble off campus, more often than not the local police officers would get in touch with college officials before booking him. Unless a serious crime had been committed, the student would usually be released to the school officials who would deal with the student in their own way.

The students were granted preferential treatment because of an unspoken pact which existed between Negro college administrators and the white power structure. The main provision of the pact was that the Negro administrators and their students refrain from getting seriously involved in radical attempts to alter the "Southern way of life." Of course, the Negro administrators (who are a part of the South's generally unnoticed black power structure) got other benefits from this unspoken pact, in the form of financial backing for private investments, appointments to lucrative governmental advisory boards, favorable zoning decisions, and protection from the South's varied assortment of rabid racist lunatics who constitute a very real danger at all times.

It should be understood that most Negro college administrators did not enjoy the pact. The truth of the matter is that most of them were highly contemptuous of it. They did not have much choice in the matter, however, because the pact was thrust upon them. Adherence to the discreet (and extremely subtle) provisions of the pact was the price that one had to pay if he intended to function. This was (is) particularly true in the case of the Negro state colleges (which were set up to keep the state-run white colleges segregated), where those administrators who did not accept the terms of the pact were fired. Despite the threat of coercion, however, the fact cannot be denied that some Negro college administrators grew all too comfortable and zealous in their adjustment to and compliance with the repressive dictates of the pact.

The most odious aspect of this pact was the fact that the South's lower-class blacks were (and are) mercilessly exploited under it. For the pact required that the Negro college administrators—and their students—not get involved while the white power structure bilked lower-class blacks; better known as "ordinary Nigras."

The "peculiar system" which grew out of this unspoken pact remained substantially intact as long as Negro college students restricted their assault on the status quo to ineffectual protests and plaintive requests for justice and equality some time in the future. It began to disintegrate in 1960 with the advent of the sit-ins. The sit-ins, which were initiated by four freshmen students at North Carolina A&T College, an all-Negro state college, in Greensboro, started a chain reaction which literally swept across the South, engulfing campus after campus.

The white power structure responded to the sit-ins with an almost predictable manner. In city after city, spokesmen for the white Establishment criticized the students and denounced their movement. Their comments indicated that they felt they were being betrayed! They seemed to be saying that someone—namely the student demonstrators and their administrators who had always managed to control their students in the past—was betraying the pact. The white critics made it clear that it was all right for Negro students to participate in harmless non-political pranks, but it was not all right for them to lead politically-oriented demonstrations which resulted in boycotts, bad publicity, and millions of dollars in lost revenue.

When the Southern white Establishment became convinced that their criticisms and inhibited reprimands of the parallel black Establishment were not having any appreciable effect on the sit-ins, they responded in the

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manner in which the South has always responded when it has had trouble with its black subjects. They resorted to police violence and judicial complicity. The cops, recruited from the South's substrata of lower-class whites, were permitted to use violence, arrests and intimidation in order to discourage the sit-iners. The judiciary, which has always been crucial to the South's exploitive legal system, resorted to the use of astronomical bonds, punitive sentences, and a wide variety of injunctions and restraining orders.

When it became apparent that the students were conducting a movement consistent with the demands of the historical epoch, the Southern Establishment changed its tactics. The cops were called off, the critics hushed their strident denunciations, and the judges began to commute sentences. All across the South previously segregated lunch counters, waiting rooms, hotels, restaurants and other public facilities began to initiate the absurdly painless process of desegregation (not to be confused with integration). Apologists for the former advocates of the "segregation-now-and forever" forces facetiously announced that they were "never against the goals of the Nigras, but against the tactics that the Nigras resorted to in order to attain their goals."

Infectious Impetus Lost

The most important thing that the students learned from the sit-in movement was that they had the power (when they were mobilized) to initiate massive social, economic and political changes in the South. Despite their awareness of the massive influence which they could bring to bear on the Southern power-structure, the student movement lost much of its infectious impetus immediately after the sit-in victories. The impetus was lost for many reasons; the most important one being the fact that the students did not possess enough political maturity to confront the system in anything but an oblique (and therefore temporary) manner. Although courage and commitment were necessary for participation, they were not sufficient for a long-range struggle involving complex and confusing issues and relationships.

During the mid-'60s when SNCC grew into a major political organization, the Negro college campuses were relatively dormant. Although many of their students were chafing for some kind of meaningful political involvement, most of them were not politically mature or committed enough to take the kind of ultimate step which motivated former classmates, like Carmichael, John Lewis, Julian Bond and Ruby Doris Robinson, to leave school and work full-time in the movement.

Lacking an adequate analysis of the white Establishment and the relationship between it and the black Establishment, the students began to examine their own campuses. Because most Negro college administrations are extremely conservative in social as well as political affairs, the students did not have to look very long before they identified a number of issues around which they could organize movements for campus reform.

The result was that from 1964-66, many of the nation's 120 Negro colleges were racked by student movements aimed at liberalizing social conditions on the campuses. Some of the most important student demands were the abolition of compulsory chapel and of compulsory dress requirements, and the elimination of compulsory ROTC. Although some of these movements were partially successful, most of them were not. The primary reason that most failed was the fact that the movements themselves were not founded on any kind of objective analysis of the socio-political function of the Negro college.

By 1967, the politically active students on Negro college campuses were advocating that their schools be turned into revolutionary centers where they could develop the capacity to destroy America's system of race-class oppression. At Howard University in Washington, D.C., a group of students got together and formed a "Black Power Committee." The committee had two major aims: "the overthrow of the 'Negro' college with white college innards" and to "raise in its place a militant black university which will counteract the whitewashing black students now receive in 'Negro' and white institutions."

During the same period, an ominous confrontation was brewing on the campus of Texas Southern University in Houston. Through the Winter of 1967, a small group of SNCC-oriented student militants were active on the campus and in the surrounding community. Their attempts to organize on campus were frowned on by the college administrators (a group of men who were responsible to the racist whites in the state legislature). More important, however, was the ire which their community organizing efforts evoked in the white power structure.

Things came to a head on the night of March 16, 1967, when 600 shotgun-wielding police officers invaded the campus in search of alleged snipers. Before the confrontation subsided one man was dead; several students and police officers were wounded; almost 500 students were arrested; and $30,000 damage was done to a dormitory (the police, who admitted that they fired over 3,000 rounds while on the campus, damaged the dormitory in the alleged search for hidden arms).

Some very important precedents were established at Texas Southern, the most important being that the confrontation marked the first time in recent history a Negro college campus was invaded for political reasons. The confrontation, and the death and destruction which accompanied it, grew out of the political efforts of a relatively small group of Texas Southern's students. The police riot—and that's just what it was—was a punitive act whose major objective was political intimidation. Only the naive and ignorant would deny that the events at

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Texas Southern were not a factor when police staged similar riots on the South Carolina State and North Carolina A&T campuses.

Meanwhile, growing numbers of Negro college students began pursuing campus and community projects which brought them into direct conflict with the South's white power structure—and, in many cases, their own conservative administrators. This was graphically true in the instance of a small group of dedicated students who formed an organization called the Black Liberation Front at Lane College in Jackson, Tennessee, last spring.

The students were concerned about the mediocre integration-oriented education they were receiving and conditions in Jackson's black slums. The Front's organizers, many of whom were honor students, devised a two-pronged program. They drew up a list of demands which, if adopted, would have contributed to the blackening of Lane's academic focus. The second thing they did was to join a community organizing campaign in one of Jackson's squalid black slums.

Soon after the organization's leaders submitted their demands to the Lane administration, they were subjected to a bitter series of threats. This did not surprise them because the administration was acting as it had been expected to act. However, their community organizing efforts provided them with a number of surprises. They found out that most of the novel-like shotgun shanties in the slum belonged to influential whites in the city of Jackson. They also found out that a number of prominent city officials owned property and businesses in the slum. One of the things which upset them the most was the fact that many of the landlords used uniformed officers from the Jackson Police Department, to collect their inflated rents.

Gestapo-Like Effort

Before the students could mobilize the slum-dwellers and organize campus support, the Jackson Police Department, the Lane administrators, and some of the city's leading white politicians moved to destroy the Front. The assault on the Front, which exhibited many characteristics similar to a gestapo-like military campaign, was particularly brutal. This is true despite the fact that no one was killed.

The assault, which Lane students refer to as "the big bust," began early one March morning when four police cars pulled up on campus. Each of the four cars contained four helmeted police officers and each of the officers was decked out in full riot attire, including shotguns. The cops had come at the request of Lane's president, Dr. C. A. Kirkendoll, who has said that he felt he was losing control of the campus (arsonists had burned the school's only science building the night before). By late afternoon, the police officers were joined by contingents of the Tennessee State Highway Patrolmen and of the National Guard.

The presence of police, highway patrolmen and National Guardsmen precipitated a hostile response from the Lane students who felt that their campus was being invaded. Words were passed; a few bricks were thrown; a couple of commands to "disperse and go to your dormitories" were ignored; tempers flared. All this culminated in the law enforcement officials (who numbered about 200) charging into a group of fleeing students and beating everyone they could catch—male and female. A number of students had to be hospitalized and about 100 others were arrested. None of this is as disturbing as the manner in which the Lane administration and city officials used the cover of the law to harass and intimidate the leaders of the Black Liberation Front and those students who were unfortunate enough to be arrested during the riot.

Immediately after the bust began, Lane's dean of men, J. A. Cook, began to point out leaders of the Black Liberation Front so that they could be arrested. Caught off guard by the unexpected charge of the club-wielding troopers, most of the Front's leaders were immediately

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apprehended and arrested. Those who weren't arrested had arrest warrants sworn out against them: police officials went as far as Memphis—200 miles away—to serve the warrants. Most of the students were charged with disturbing the peace, disorderly conduct and inciting to riot. A few were additionally charged with resisting arrest.

On the morning following the "bust" the students were informed of the terms of their release. Those who pleaded guilty to the lesser charges of disturbing the peace and disorderly conduct would be freed as soon as they paid nominal fines. However, those students who pleaded guilty would automatically be suspended from school. Those who would not agree to this arrangement were informed that they were going to be bound over for trial by the grand jury on the more serious charge of inciting to riot.

The Jackson courts and city officials made it very clear to the bewildered students, their worried parents, and other interested parties that they were complying with the desires of the Lane College administrators. The mayor said that the arrests were made at the request of the Lane administration and that those cases which were being prosecuted were a result of charges filed by the Lane administration.

The Lane administrators did not limit their use of the city's police powers to the students arrested during the big bust, however. The threat of arrest, expulsion, and prosecution was held over the entire student body for weeks after. There was a gestapo-like character to the actions of the city and school officials.

Immediately after the brutal bust, the college campus and the surrounding community were placed under a 7 p.m. to 7 a.m. curfew. The campus was continuously patrolled by police cruisers filled with white police officers who frequently went out of their way to heckle students. Anyone who violated the curfew was subject to immediate arrest and expulsion from school and those groups which contained more than three persons constituted unlawful assemblies. No political meetings or assemblies were allowed and those persons who made statements critical of the administration were subject to arrest. Although these extreme measures led to the destruction of the Black Liberation Front as an organization, rebel spirit which created the organization is still strong.

Although the repressive complicity between Lane's administrators and Jackson's white power structure was atypical in that it was more blatant and extreme than what normally occurs, the thing to be understood is the fact that what happened at Lane is probably indicative of what is in store for students on other Negro college campuses across the South. Recent skirmishes at Howard University, Alcorn A&M, Tennessee State, Central State, Morehouse College, Spelman College, and North Carolina A&T indicate that the immediate future for Negro colleges will probably be filled with tension, conflict, and death.

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This book deserves the Pulitzer Prize in History for 1969.

One is sorely tempted to allow the above statement to stand by itself as a sufficient assessment of the author's "disciplined schizophrenia" (the term is his). But such honest arrogance demands further explanation because William Appleman Williams is that ultimate anathema in the historical establishment—a revisionist.

In past years American historians argued that each generation had an obligation to rewrite the past, usually in terms of its own contemporary experience. The apotheosis of this syndrome evolved in the first fifteen years following World War II, through a liberal cult of consensus history (exemplified by the writing of such diverse types as Daniel Boorstin, Richard Hofstadter and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.), which celebrated the American past as a continuum of *via media* resolutions to the crises of the moment, be they of race, religion or caste (economic, and therefore, social). Boorstin rationalized the demise of the Virginia dynasty by lamenting that "when the United States ceased to be a larger Virginia, Virginians ceased to govern the United States." Schlesinger, the arch-advocate of a "Vital Center," borrowing upon the cyclic notions of his justly renowned historian-father, was certain that Andrew Jackson was a direct liberal ancestor of the New Deal. Hofstadter signified the historical triumph of urban America by deftly disposing of the "agrarian myth" while popularizing such "in" terms as "Social Darwinism" and the "status revolt."

However, the decade of the sixties was one of traumatic confrontation and/or catharsis for these practitioners of establishment self-deception and their reading public. Encouraged by a cerebral, history-oriented President who discovered, in the Cuban missile crisis, that being a professional Cold Warrior was not a proper panacea for promoting peace, some inhabitants of the groves of academe began to reinvestigate the *sanctum sanctorum* that was the establishment's version of the American past. When even so tepid a critic as John Higham warned of the dangers of "homogenizing" our history to the point of perverting the reality of the past, the chevaliers of consensus rose up in (self-) righteous wrath. Led by a lesser luminary of the Pulitzer emeriti, Oscar Handlin, they proceeded to denounce the new revisionism *et opera omnia.*

The principal target of this consensus counter-attack was—and continues to be—William Appleman Williams. To an Ivy League *doyen* he is "that Marxist"; a West Coast counterpart dismisses him as "Applehead Williams," while a recent "scholarly" article categorized him as little more than a neo-Beardian, neo-isolationist. In his *ex cathedra* review of Williams' first important book, *The Contours of American History**, the aforementioned Handlin began in derisive fashion saying: "In evaluating this book, one cannot exclude the possibility that it was intended as an elaborate hoax, that its author has been enjoying himself by ingeniously pulling the legs of his colleagues." Despite these canards, the fact remains that, while he was at Wisconsin, Williams helped train more important diplomatic

*Although *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* appeared prior to this, its real significance was not appreciated until the revised edition appeared in 1962, subsequent to the Bay of Pigs episode.

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historians than the rest of the profession combined. His own publications have made him the most influential and/or provocative diplomatic historian writing today. This book only enhances that reputation.

What most infuriates his critics is Williams' radical historical *weltanschauung*. Unlike too many of his liberal counterparts, Williams is willing to accept and judge the past on its own terms, rather than by the New Deal/Cold War criteria of the contemporary era. Secondly, Williams views diplomatic history as something more than a narrative compendium of treaties and protocols. For him it is an integral extension of the nation's domestic progress—or plight—at any given moment. Cast within this framework it is possible for Williams to demonstrate how the theories of Adam Smith overcame the Puritan ethic through the medium of corporate liberalism and, in so doing, transformed "The City on a Hill" into "The Empire of the Globe."

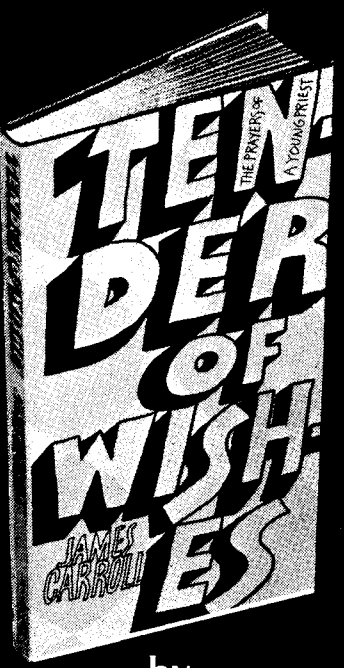
This book is actually two books. The introductory chapter, bereft of footnotes, is a summary essay intended for the general reader—or the uninformed book reviewer—while the remainder is an intensive scholarly examination of the *agrarian* origins of American imperialism, concentrating on the period 1860-1898. Williams provided the best brief synopsis of what the scholar could look for in this book in two paragraphs of an earlier essay which appeared in *Containment and Revolution* (see pp. 67-68). In short, this book supplies the missing links in his earlier writings; taken together, they now present an integrated and balanced account of how America came to be what it is—"The Free World Colossus" (to borrow a phrase from David Horowitz).

From the morass of information through which he has waded Williams has derived three basic conclusions, worth quoting for their own sake:

First. The Agricultural majority of the country developed through the interaction of existing ideas and continuing experience, a marketplace image or conception of the world to attain their objectives. . . . Second. The metropolitan minority of the nation gradually accepted the expansionist aspects of the agricultural conception of the world. . . . They adopted the imperial outlook during the same years that they consolidated their control—still as a minority—of the political economy. Third. The agricultural expansionists who tried to maintain an operating balance between the expansion of freedom and the expansion of the marketplace were unsuccessful. So, ultimately, were the metropolitans who recognized that problem and made the same effort. They failed for two reasons. The metropolitan leadership that consolidated its control of the system entertained a narrower conception of freedom than the one held by the reformers on the farm or in the city; and it also offered a different analysis of how the freedom of the free marketplace developed and matured.

Thanks to technology, the post-Civil War agrarians were not subsistence farmers but surplus-producing entrepreneurs who profited immensely from overseas trade, especially during the halcyon years 1878-1883. However, a noticeable decline developed in the agrarian share of all exports (down from 76.4% in 1887 to 61.6% in 1900) and continued surpluses intensified the farmer's plight. The net result was that the agrarian majority (in 1870 it was 9.9 million urban v. 28.17 million rural; in 1900 it was 30.2 million urban v. 45.8 million rural) "moved ever closer to a final confrontation with the fateful choice between accepting the marketplace as it operated or embarking upon an imperial policy to make it operate as it should." As "Sockless Jerry" Simpson of Kansas told his colleagues in the House of Representatives in 1892: "I want to trade where I can get rich instead of getting poor."

In Williams' mind nine events which occurred between 1892 and 1896, ranging from the Hawaiian Revolution (which he treats very inadequately) to the Cuban revolt, made the recourse to overseas empire inexorable. But it was the agrarian majority who pushed for an expansionist program and sold the



by
James Carroll

"I, Yahweh, let my tenderness yearn"
Jeremiah 31,30

**Be tender of wishes,
cling like leaves to
chain-link fences
in winter wind.
Wishes have whipped
small hurricanes
of memories that
blow from inside
link-wrinkled eyes.
Wishes are window
panes of cellophane;
breathe softly on them,
make messages with
touchings of your nose.
If of nothing else,
be tender of wishes, a tender be,
for God-made-man,
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idea to metropolitan America. Why? Because "their marketplace philosophy, traditions and actions all combined to persuade them that such an imperial policy was the only workable solution, and that it was likewise the only approach that would sustain and even enlarge the area of freedom."

And so the United States marched into the twentieth century to the tune of *Columbia Über Alles*, the lyrics being that of the Open Door. A European civil war began in 1914 and was soon globalized; it still sullenly endures because the West adheres to the rhetoric but not the implementation of coexistence in the Third World. Seen in this context the tragedy of Vietnam is as much an aberration in American policy as was the conflict with Spain in 1898, which gave us war with honor —and peace with empire.

Like most other creations of imperfect man, this tome is not without its faults. Williams still displays a propensity to be careless in his recitation of the facts (e.g., the size of Harrison's electoral victory in New York in 1888, the Congressional election tally of 1890, Alvey A. Adee's first name, etc.) and his source citations are, at times, too cryptic to be deciphered (even one of his former students' books is mistitled). Also, one wishes that his prose style throughout was as vivid and lively as were the opening and closing sections of the book. But this is a hybrid of nit-picking and wish-fulfillment. What is important is that this masterful *tour de force* demonstrates beyond doubt that Williams is primarily concerned with telling it like it was. He has broken new ground and we are all in his debt. If this be revisionism, then, by Clio, there is a desperate need for more of it.

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The Myth of the Judeo-Christian Tradition

ARTHUR A. COHEN

Harper & Row, $7.50

WALTER ARNOLD

The demythologizer's lot is not a happy one. Arthur Cohen's latest book will be on a number of prominent blacklists. But that is one of the first things to commend it. Another is that in the midst of increasing announcements of the end of the Judeo-Christian tradition, it is good to have a book that reminds us that there has never really been one.

These chapters are full of hard sayings and are not lacking in *ressentiment*, and since the volume is a collection of essays and reviews spanning nearly two decades, it is a very mixed offering. For example the section of largely polemical reviews of now musty books and issues could have been eliminated with only a loss of pages. Nevertheless its best chapters make very salutary reading and provide a necessary exhortation unto the End. Ironically, despite its negative thrusts, it is an essentially hopeful book.

Although the political order is not the author's main concern here, nothing shows the myth of the Judeo-Christian tradition in his sense better than the general incomprehension and apathy shown toward renascent Israel on the part of Christian spokesmen. For Israel more than anything else witnesses to the survival of the Jews as Jews. Common Christian tradition has fossilized the Jews and written-off Judaism since at least the fourth century. The "perfect" Christian icon of the Synagogue has been the blind and broken-lanced figure of Strasbourg Cathedral.

Mr. Cohen's lance, however, is in one piece. It is also well aimed at the catch-all of textbook writers, Western Civ. lectures, Brotherhood Week toast-

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masters, and Jews and Christians who cannot think of anything else to speak of to one another when it comes to religious convictions. "We can learn much from the history of Jewish-Christian relations, but the one thing we cannot make of it is a discourse of community fellowship, and understanding. How, then, do we make of it a tradition?"

In fact Mr. Cohen sees the tradition as a product of the peculiar combination of modern "enlightened" animus against equally irrational religions and a defensive tactic on the part of these religions in the face of "the common disaster," the secular religiosity spawned by the same anti-religious movement. As a defensive tactic the idea of the tradition is understandable, but it is too easy, and it sins against the truth. What is closer to the truth for him is the idea of a Jewish-Christian nexus: "The nexus is that Christian and Jew divide before the same Lord; it is the sameness of the Lord which establishes our connection, but it is the breach of our understanding of him that makes all use of the significant word 'tradition' hopelessly irrelevant."

Yet it is clear from this book that more than anything else Arthur Cohen is concerned to see the advent, or at least more occasions of real meeting between committed Jews and Christians, not only for the sake of fraternity but for that of the whole culture, indeed the whole world. One of the root meanings of "tradition" is "to speak across," and in that sense he is very much interested in the possibility of Christians' and Jews' speaking across the chasm which is by no means of the past only, as goodwill talk might suggest, but here and now. One-way bridges will not do, as he points out in some acerbic observations on several volumes of *The Bridge*, the yearbook of the Judeo-Christian Institute. A well cultivated "theological enmity" has a better chance in his view, though this is in danger of being both misunderstood *and* misapplied.

Although he is concerned with historical rapprochement, in this book the author is mainly solicitous for theological truth. There is something almost old-fashioned about that, as if after all that has happened, all that we (presumptively) know now, truth, especially religious truth, is no longer a creditable pursuit. It is a measure of how desperate things are that Mr. Cohen will be attacked by some for caring about the truth.

What needs to be examined is not his care but his concept of truth. It seems to me that Mr. Cohen too easily and too uncritically sees truth as a timeless block, a fixed essence that can be expressed adequately in verbal propositions. The signal phrases throughout the book are "irrevocable," "final," "irreparable," spoken with respect to Jewish and Christian articles of belief. There are, after all, evolutionary, processive and even pragmatic concepts of truth which need not yield to either fatuous relativism or hopeless ambiguity. In fact Mr. Cohen has practical recourse to them in certain fruitfully contradictory places. Beyond that he knows better than to review history before the final curtain comes down.

One of the more extensive of Pascal's *pensées* has the heading, "To show that true Jews and true Christians have one and the same religion." But who knows who is a true Jew or a true Christian? Regardless of the conundrum, Pascal's observation is far more profound and useful than Pius XI's famous "spiritually we are Semites," which is lanced in

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these essays along with other favorite Christian palliatives and nostrums. The paradoxical fact is that the best and most impressive chapters in the book, which are the most recent ones, tend to support Pascal's dictum.

"There is no difference between the Jesus of the Gentiles and the Torah of the Jews—no functional difference as regards the End—although there are crucial and decisive differences which emerge relative to our distance from the End." That is about as good a gloss on Pascal as you can get. More than that, and in the other sense of the book's theme, it begins to suggest a "myth of the Judeo-Christian tradition" that Jews and Christians can live with without denying their differences—or killing each other because of them.

Controlling Small Wars

LINCOLN BLOOMFIELD & AMELIA LEISS

Knopf, $8.95

THOMAS M. CONRAD

It is hard to have patience with this book, a product of research done at MIT for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA). Its combination of detailed, pedantic grinding upon the obvious and trivial, together with its basically wrong-headed approach to important issues, leaves me with much the same feeling reported by Congressmen subjected to exhaustive testimony from Department of Defense experts during Mr. McNamara's tenure: the feeling of having been "nibbled to death by ducks." If the New Left realized how much of the defense research done by academic social scientists is of this type, they might very well decide to leave it alone or even to encourage it, in the thought that contracting for and reading these reports would waste so much time and attention of defense officials and others in the Establishment—just as the time of serious students is wasted by similar exercises on campus—that there might be less stamina left for foreign adventures and other mischief.

The difficulty begins in the Introduction, which is sufficiently good as an introduction in that it outlines what is wrong with the entire text. The authors suggest that the question facing the U.S. at present is whether the "old" policy of unilateral intervention in the Third World should be continued, or whether a "new" policy of "conflict control" based on multilateral intervention should be sought. The authors favor the latter. It is an eminently liberal position.

Perhaps I do not understand recent political thinking as well as the authors of this book, but it is my impression that a third possible answer to this policy question has been given rather articulate and forceful expression by some effete vocal minorities in recent years: the alternative answer that it is none of our business to meddle with the conflicts within and among Third World nations, and that neither unilateral intervention nor superpower cooperative suppression is an acceptable general orientation.

The purpose of the policy of "conflict control" urged by the authors ". . . would be neither to win nor to guide local conflicts; it would be to prevent, contain, or terminate them. It would seek, in short, to make them less threatening to regional and world peace by applying American brains, energy, and resources to the minimizing of violence by deliberate, purposeful policies." The bulk of the book is designed to help pave the way for such a policy by analyzing selected case histories in terms of a schema of "phases" which is designed to emphasize choice-points at which the past conflicts

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"might" have been damped had the right kind of outside intervention been applied. The underlying metaphor (or pre-theory) for the conflict process is one of a dynamic equilibrium in which there are factors contributing to escalation and factors contributing to damping, and the actual trajectory of historical outcomes depends upon the relative strength of these factors. This viewpoint, which systematically underestimates or eliminates from consideration processes of active feedback, irreversible social change, disintegration and construction of ideologies and world-views, and the like, factors which serious students of conflict find vital to their understanding, is a viewpoint designed to encourage policies based on naive enthusiasm for the efficacy of intervention. It is obviously no accident that one of the embarrassing examples not chosen for case study is the war in Vietnam.

Perhaps more interesting than the direct policy implications of this book is its unavowed function of articulating a new rationale for liberals who have passed through liberal anti-Communist messianism, have become uneasy with welfare imperialism and unilateral "help" of the sort provided Vietnam, and are searching for a new, enlightened and benevolent way to spread the costs of suppression of the rest of the world. Any such rationale must provide both a liberal and benevolent self-image for the Liberal Establishment and some means of nullifying the counter-ideologies of domestic and foreign dissenters. Since violence is unpopular, perhaps a rationale based on the suppression of violence in the Third World might serve. The problem is that what might serve for Establishment self-deceit is not likely to be very useful for deceiving others as well: an absence of international violence coupled with an absence of social justice is getting less popular as an appeal every day: unilateral or multilateral enforcement of the static inequities of peace ("law-order") is no longer feasible, either within the United States and the Soviet Union or elsewhere.

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REVIEWERS

RICHARD H. MILLER teaches American Diplomatic History at New York University.

WALTER ARNOLD is an editor at E. P. Dutton in New York.

THOMAS M. CONRAD is completing a book on the strategic aspects of central war.

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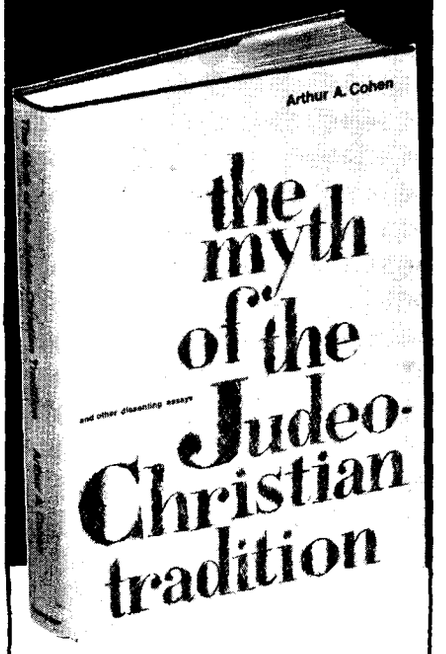

by ARTHUR A. COHEN

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IN BRIEF

Dissent In and For the Church: Theologians and Humanae Vitae, by Charles E. Curran, Robert E. Hunt and the "Subject Professors" with John F. Hunt and Terrence R. Connelly. A Sheed & Ward Search Book, paper, $3.95.
The Responsibility of Dissent: the Church and Academic Freedom, by John F. Hunt and Terrence R. Connelly with Charles E. Curran, Robert E. Hunt and Robert K. Webb. A Sheed & Ward Search Book, paper, $3.95.

Here are two books which supply the background and substance of the struggle over *Humanae Vitae* at the Catholic University of America, indispensable for anyone who wants to understand the nature and meaning of these controverted events. The initial volume represents substantially the first part of the testimony submitted to the Inquiry Board by the C.U. professors and their counsel and is described by Dr. John C. Bennett as "a most illuminating discussion of the relationship between freedom and authority" in the church. The second volume represents the written testimony submitted by counsel, on behalf of their clients, demonstrating the propriety and responsibility of their actions in the light of accepted academic and professional norms. Together the volumes tell the story of a case bound to be of profound interest to historians of American Catholicism.

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 77)

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Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: It was a generous gesture of *Commonweal* to give Miss Mulherin ["Memories of a Latter-Day Catholic Girlhood," Mar. 6] a chance to discharge herself of a number of things that have disturbed her over the years. I'm sure she felt considerably better afterwards. Nor was she alone to profit from the opportunity. I for one was enlightened by the distinction between funk and camp, edified by the confession that she "dug getting close to God," encouraged by the fact that the Catholic church prepared her for a career in the New Left, and instructed by the information that the reason for being a revolutionary is that it is a better way to live. Yet was it a political gesture, at a time when *Commonweal* badly needs funds, to let the readers rather than Miss Mulherin or, for that matter, the sisters who allegedly sowed the seeds of her disturbance, pay for this therapeutic purge? I am entirely convinced of the salutary effects of therapeutic writing, and am willing to encourage it financially but I would prefer to do so on a voluntary basis in a more specialized publication.

LOUIS DUPRÉ
Georgetown University

St. Louis, Mo.

To the Editors: In times of revolution there are always many who are swept off their foundations by the flood, and they deserve our sympathy, forbearance, understanding, pity. Kathy Mulherin is no doubt a fine, sincere young woman, but she is certainly very badly mixed up, and in presenting ten pages of her confusion in your March 6th issue you raise the disturbing question of whether *Commonweal,* too, has been torn from its moorings.

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Readers of *Commonweal*, like myself, look to it not for manifestos from the New Left—after all we can get this first-hand from the *Village Voice*, et al—(like Miss Mulherin). What Catholics, all Christians, badly need is the relevant re-statement, the intelligent application of those principles by which we must live if we are to truly fulfill our destiny by 'loving God with all our heart and our neighbor as ourself'; principles which have stood the test of time and withstood quite a few revolutions in the last two thousand years.

L. F. LANWERMEYER

Chicago, Ill.

To the Editors: Re Kathy Mulherin's tendentious meanderings which ought to be titled: " 'My Soul' and All That" [Mar. 6]: G. K. Chesterton (has the youngster ever heard of him?) once wrote that the idea of God appealed to him because it gave him someone to be grateful to. A brief study of "Kathy's Thing" reveals a cocky (almost 'lace-curtain Irish!') and not regretful pride in her 'Catholic schooling': but, alas, she missed the best part of it all!

She rattles on about a religious "funk" (and I choose that word advisedly!): but nowhere does she use the terms *adoration, worship* or *gratitude*. You know, all those words that describe man's relationship to God. Instead, we find *horizontal* and *vertical* and lots of liturgy! Now who's being camp? Low camp, at that.

If the "Ever Lovin' " Kathy seeks some meaning in things and/or wants to find some meaning in it all, let her begin by looking at Kathy Mulherin; who just might be unintentionally, of course (why are so many personal matters "unintentional, of course"?), a bit of a coward. Let her consider looking at reality as a *private* matter, too—within the spectrum of *public* affairs. And let her be silent and quiet and ponder the dictum of "Love Your Neighbor As You Love Yourself," especially the "As You Love Yourself" part, and then let her start making *private* sacrifices for *public* causes. (Not the other way around as "Ever Lovin' " characters are apt to do!)

She just may find it's more revealing than a be-in. It may expose a Kathy Mulherin whom she has never known and whom she could get together with!

M. F. CALKINS

Babylon, New York

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produces a piece like Kathy Mulherin's knowing analysis of the counter culture [Mar. 6], it justifies its not-always-evident reason for being (and makes me wish I had a few extra bucks to apply toward its survival).

Miss Mulherin's account is vastly more plausible than similar efforts by our social analysts. Who, among those of her persuasion, have not despaired of explaining themselves to us? I am grateful (and frankly surprised) to read testimony on this subject presented straight, without hysterical rhetoric and without condescension.

EMERO STIEGMAN, JR.

Birth Control in Peru

Lima, Peru

To the Editors: On behalf of his Eminence, Juan Cardinal Landazuri Ricketts, Archbishop of Lima, I wish to inform you of his great surprise and deep displeasure over your January 23 article on birth control in Peru [News & Views; see also News & Views, March 13].

This article, based on a news release of the *Latinamerica Press* service of Lima, says erroneously that "the largest program for distributing anticonceptive pills in Peru is done under the auspices of the Catholic Church through the Christian Family Movement."

This presentation of the news is entirely false. Consequently, it has been officially denied by the Chancery on January 29, 1970 in a letter directed to the *Latinamerica Press* service. The CFM program approved by ecclesiastical authority here is in no way whatsoever a birth control program, nor does it distribute birth control pills.

The CFM program is a family education program directed to the formation of parents in the *barriadas* (shanty-towns). It helps them to understand and fulfill their marital and family obligations. It instructs parents in their duty to procreate and educate their children in the spirit of responsible parenthood indicated by Vatican II and by Pope Paul VI in his encyclical *Humanae Vitae*.

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tiously the duties of parenthood, and not just in having a large family. Also included in this teaching is "a legitimate regulation of the size of the family," as Pope Pius XII said, for grave reasons and through means approved by the moral law as it is interpreted by the Church. One of these means permitted by Catholic morality is maintaining the natural infertility of the mother during her lactation period through antiovulation pills, so long as there is a grave reason.

Following closely the Church's moral doctrine, the CFM program teaches and recommends natural methods for regulating the size of the family. For example, it counsels periodic or temporary continence. The CFM does not authorize the use of the pill during the lactation period, except in special cases and for grave reasons. And then, it must be taken always under a doctor's prescription and strict surveillance.

For these reasons then, we do not understand how Mr. Agostino Bono dared to state in his *Latinamerica Press* story that "a 'loophole' in the natural law position enables the Catholic Church in Peru to support the biggest program for distributing the pill." Even less do we understand his affirmation that "ironically the CFM program is the only structured project in the barriadas providing anti-conception information." This is entirely false. The Chancery has denied it vigorously.

As a matter of fact, the Cardinal would have been grateful if *Commonweal* had pointed out the educational aspects of the CFM program. This is one of the most important ways in which the Church in Peru is trying to help solve the grave moral, social, and economic problems encountered in the development of less fortunate peoples. No matter what the cost, it is trying to defend the personal liberty and dignity of their families, in accordance with the dictates of a Christian conscience.

(REV.) AUGOSTO CAMACHO FRANCIA
Chancellor, Archdiocese of Lima

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: There is the story that after writing *Humanae Vitae* Pope Paul approached one of his curial "experts" with a question. "There is only one thing which still confuses me," he said. "Does the husband have to take the pill before or after breakfast?"

If Agostino Bono of *Latinamerica Press,* as quoted in News & Views [March 13], really thinks the aim of taking the pill is to "regulate the *lactation* cycle," I suggest he consult on his biology with the Pope.

All power to the people and promote sex education in Latin America!

MARGARET O'BRIEN

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residences:
three, women—770
one, men—559
one, coed—1,200

new facilities:
hall of science—architect Mies van der Rohe, modern labs
amphi-theaters

duquesne union—six stories, bowling alleys, rathskellar, dining facilities, ballroom

new dormitory—1200 students, swimming pool, dining hall ready in September

two summer sessions:
8 weeks, starting June 8—registration June 5 and 6
6 weeks, starting June 22—registration June 18, 19, 20

for further information contact:
director of admissions
box 22
duquesne university
pittsburgh, pennsylvania 15219

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"I have a dream
that my four little children
will one day live in a nation
where they will not be judged
by the color of their skin
but by the content of their character."
The Reverend Martin Luther King.

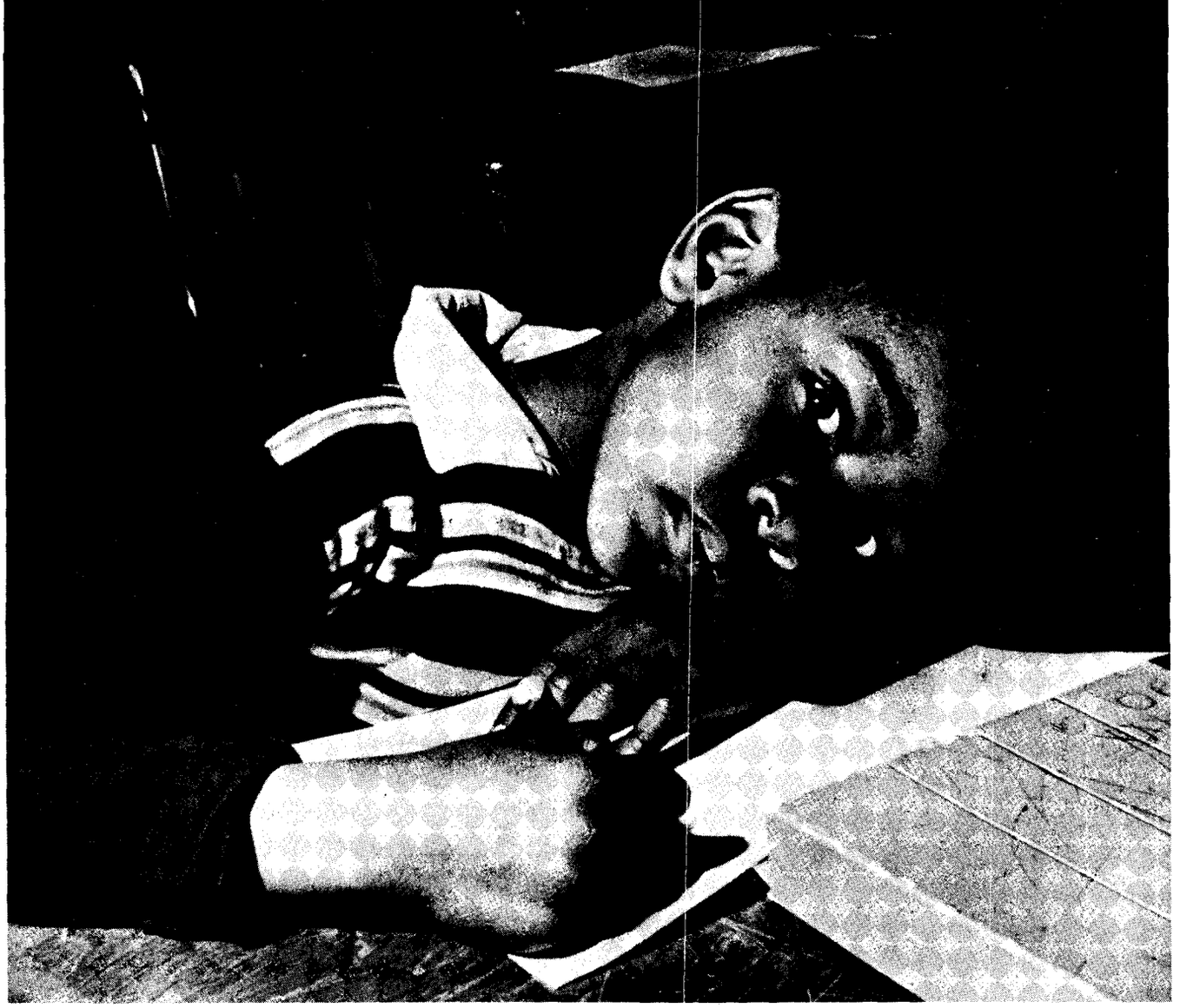
Today, more than ever before, millions of Americans of all races and creeds share that dream.

In our union, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, we seek to unite all people.

We work together and live together with mutual respect for our neighbors—at the next machine or the next house.

This spirit has not only helped us advance our own standards of living. It has played a part in winning higher standards for our friends and neighbors in communities all over America.

The ILGWU label sewn into women's and children's apparel, is our signature. It's a symbol of progress made and more to come. Look for it when you shop.



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